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INFORMATION OPERATIONS: THE LEAST APPLIED ELEMENT OF US NATIONAL POWER

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ABSTRACT

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Information operations, one of the four elements of US national power is supreme in defending this country against foreign or domestic adversaries and winning the hearts and minds both at home and internationally. Following the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 2001, the majority of the world was outraged at the act of terrorism and the disregard for human life by those who perpetrated the destruction. However, there was also strong animosity towards the US throughout the Islamic World, and particularly in the Middle East, that sought to accept the act. This paper will examine the effectiveness of the US Informational Element of National Power, compare it with those of our adversaries, and determine what changes must occur to strengthen it. Finally, a recommendation will be made on how the US can regain the lead in winning hearts and minds of adversaries and potential adversaries around the world.

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> Information is a strategic resource – less understood but no less important to national security than politics, military, and economic power. In the information age, influence and power go to those who can disseminate credible information in ways that will mobilize publics to support interests, goals, and objectives.
>
> > \- Defense Science Board Task Force on
> > Managed Information Dissemination

The United States has long held the comfort and protection of not being attacked on its shores by foreign enemies or rogue nations. However, on September 11, 2001, the United States lived through what is recognized as the worst terrorist attack in the nation's history. Hijacked commercial airplanes slammed into the World Trade Center, Pentagon, and an open field in Central Pennsylvania, and in the process, killed over 3000 people. The terrorists who piloted the aircrafts delivered well planned and destructive blows against symbols of American national power. The aim of Osama bin Laden's terrorist network, Al Qaeda, was to demonstrate to the world and reinforce in the minds of his followers, America's vulnerability and to weaken the United States and Western capitalistic way of life. Osama bin Laden has vowed to continue his terrorist crusade against America and that the United States will know no security and refuge from his network worldwide "…before we live it in Palestine, and not before all the infidel armies leave the land of Muhammad, peace be upon him."[1] Days later following the attacks on America, President Bush's statements to a nationally televised audience sent his own message to Osama bin Laden and the world:

> We will direct every resource at our command – every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war – to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.
>
> > \- President George W. Bush
> > September 20, 2001

> We wage war to save civilization, itself.
>
> > \- President George W. Bush
> > November 8, 2001

The President's strategic objective is to win the global war on terrorism and protect the people and interests of the United States by employing all instruments of national power at his disposal, not just military. However, the critical point regarding the President's objective ("end") is that the war on terror is global in nature and requires all elements of national power to combat

and defeat this threat. The message throughout all of the President's statements is that our efforts are not just directed towards the destruction and capture of Al Qaeda, but all terrorist organizations worldwide that threaten the United States. His messages were transmitted to a global audience and their effectiveness are largely dependent on how the world views his and America's credibility.[2] The prominent author, Samuel P. Huntington, writes in his book, *The Clash of Civilization and the Remaking of World Order* – some Westerners, including President Clinton, have argued that the West does not have problems with Islam but only with violent Islamist extremists.[3] However, world opinion, particularly after 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq have demonstrated otherwise. The question that must be asked is, does the United States maximize its informational element of national power and is it well understood and coordinated across all agencies and departments throughout the government?

In 1999, the Clinton administration, frustrated by the growing success of anti-American propaganda around the world, struck back offensively by establishing an office within the U.S. State Department responsible for controlling the flow of government news and information overseas, particularly during heightened periods of conflict or crisis. The mission of this new office was to coordinate the dissemination of news from the State Department, Pentagon, and other U.S. agencies.[4] Prior to the establishment of this office and leading up to the U.S. military campaign in Kosovo, each government agency, through their respective press secretary or communications director, issued independent, and sometimes uncoordinated press releases, sometimes contradicting each other or sending messages to the American and world audiences regarding U.S. positions on critical and sensitive issues. The new office in the State Department, known as the Public Information Group (IPI) and under the operational control of the Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy was to be responsible for bringing all communications, press and information staffs together under one message.[5] An unclassified mission statement obtained by the Associated Press in 1999 describes the IPI's role as: "Effective use of our nation's highly developed communications and information capabilities to address misinformation and incitement, mitigate inter-ethnic conflict, promote independent media organizations and the free flow of information, and support democratic participation will advance our interests and is a critical foreign policy objective."[6] David Leavy, former spokesman in the Clinton White House National Security Council, goes on to say: "what this is intended to do is organize the instruments of the federal government to be able to support the public diplomacy, military engagements and economic initiatives that we have overseas."[7]

Clearly, during this time period, anti-American sentiment ran high as the U.S. became occupied with events in Yugoslavia and actions against accused war-crime dictator and

President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia. Milosevic had an extensive anti-American, anti-NATO and anti-ethnic Kosovar Albanian propaganda machine at work and was winning the hearts and minds of his followers and gaining momentum. To make matters worse, as the air war against Milosevic leveled off, one of the worst anti-American public relations disasters occurred when a U.S. plane mistakenly misidentified a target and bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese citizens. International outrage heightened and the U.S. found itself on the defense, attempting to counter images being transmitted by both Milosevic followers and the Chinese government. The Chinese Communist Party's flagship newspaper, the *Peoples' Daily*, called the war and the embassy bombing "a great step in the United States' strategy to dominate the world.[8] At the American Embassy in Beijing, a well-structured mob demonstrated in front of the compound threatening violence and retaliation while Chinese authority sat back and watched. To make matters worse, the Chinese delayed the announcement and publication of an American official apology to the government and citizens.

Ten years earlier, the United States experienced measurable success in the Middle East and around the world in its information campaign leading up to the prosecution of Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Then President George H. Bush managed to build a viable coalition of several Arab nations to oust Saddam Hussein and his army out of Kuwait. Popular support for the action throughout the Middle East favorably enabled America to send troops and fight on Arab soil for what most viewed as a righteous and worthy cause, not only for the United States, but for the entire world. The success of this campaign was largely made possible because of the information campaign set forth by the Bush Administration and the President himself. Below is an excerpt from one of the many reports to Congress on the conduct of the war and how information operation targeted against Iraq made it possible.

> Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril.
>
> - Sun Tzu

INFORMATION OPERATIONS AND THE PERSIAN GULF WAR

> During the Persian Gulf War, defensive information operations ensured that the Coalition soundly defeated Saddam Hussein's political strategy, which was aimed at influencing the decision making coalition nation leadership. Immediately after the invasion of Kuwait, Iraq began campaigning for public support. This effort included defaming Kuwait's ruling family and portraying Iraq as the champion of anti-colonialism, social justice, Arab unity, the Palestinian cause, and Islam. In an apparent move to defuse initial international condemnation of its invasion of Kuwait, Saddam falsely announced Iraqi troops would begin pulling out of Kuwait on 6 August 1990. In spite of Hussein's efforts to influence

Coalition actions, the Coalition's information strategy ensured that the war was fought under favorable conditions that took full advantage of Coalition strengths and Iraqi weaknesses, ensuring Saddam's political and military strategy was soundly defeated. Despite Hussein's attempts to intimidate his neighbors, the Gulf States requested outside help and a Coalition formed. The Arab "street" did not rise up on his behalf, and Israeli's restraint in the face of Scud attacks undermined his plan to turn the war into an Arab-Israeli conflict. Coalition leadership aggressively countered Saddam's widely publicized threats of massive casualties and his taking of hostages, neither of which deterred Coalition resolve. Saddam's attempts to take the offense by his use of Scuds and the attack on the Saudi town of Al-Khafji failed to achieve their strategic purpose of reducing the Coalition's will to fight. On all information fronts, the effective use of information operations by the Coalition to defend against Saddam's information strategy ensured that Iraq was not only beaten, but also failed to ever seize the initiative.

- SOURCE: Conduct of the Persian Gulf War
Final Report to Congress, April 1992

THIRTEEN YEARS LATER

With substantial media fanfare, United Nations weapons inspectors, led by Swedish attorney Hans Blix, arrived in Baghdad and on November 27, 2002 began inspecting sites suspected of housing prohibited weapons and missiles. Camera crews were kept some distance away and the inspectors remained tight-lipped about what they were finding. Just a few days later, current President George W. Bush publicly expressed skepticism that Saddam Hussein would comply with inspections and his remarks were taken as a renewed threat of military action. It was widely felt throughout the administration that Iraq had produced Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), that he had used it against his own people, and that the global war on terrorism included ridding Saddam and Iraq of these weapons. As weapons inspections continued with Blix and his team, the doubts within the administration regarding the distrust of Saddam and lack of confidence for the inspection team became more public. "Time is running out," Bush said on January 14, 2003. But some including Secretary of State, Colin Powell, were still hopeful that diplomatic pressure and the threat of force would make Saddam do something to avert war.[9] Unlike the previous Gulf War against the same enemy, the new Bush administration would have difficulty gathering the same level of support in the Middle East and, particularly, around the world to go to war against Saddam. The United States and Great Britain eventually led a smaller coalition that would later lead the invasion of Iraq, defeat its army, and oust Saddam from power.

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT

Antiwar protests and public skepticism of the United States' intentions increased at home and to an even greater extent abroad. Millions marched in European, Arab and Asian capitals. Several weekend demonstrations in Washington drew crowds in the tens of thousands. France carved out a role for itself as the leading antiwar power, behind the personas of President Jacques Chirac and Foreign Minister Dominique de Villepin.[10] As a result, there was public outcry across the U.S. to boycott French products and to spend hard earned American dollars vacationing in countries friendly to the U.S, which did not include France. Another long-time friend, Germany, to a lesser degree, joined France in their disdain for the war, however, they continued their support for the war in Afghanistan.

ANTI AMERICAN SENTIMENTS

One year into the war, resentment and opposition toward the United States has intensified in Europe and the Muslim world. A USA Today poll, sponsored by the non-partisan Pew Global Attitudes Project in March 2004 which surveys and studies public opinion worldwide, shows a sharp and growing discontent between the views of Americans and people who live in other countries.[11] It certainly indicates that the United States is being isolated in its battle against terrorism. A growing percentage of Europeans want to forge foreign policy and security arrangements that are independent of their trans-Atlantic ally and most surveys in the Muslim nations view the war in Iraq as a U.S. effort to control Middle East oil and dominate the world.[12] The survey from February 19, 2004 to March 3, 2004 found:

- Time hasn't healed divisions over the war in Iraq. The overwhelming opposition in France and Germany has increased since a survey in May. In Britain, where last year most people backed the war, more are now opposed to the war than support it.

- U.S. motives in the war on terrorism are doubted. Majorities in six countries -- France, Germany, Turkey, Pakistan, Jordan and Morocco -- and a 48% plurality in Russia say it is not a sincere effort to reduce terrorism. In those countries, most say the war is being waged to control the region's oil.

- The effectiveness of the Iraq war in combating terrorism is disputed. Only in the USA do most people think it has helped the war on terrorism. In the other eight nations, by double-digit margins, people say the war in Iraq has hurt the effort against terrorism.

- The benefits of ousting Saddam Hussein are questioned. Majorities in the USA, Great Britain, France and Germany say the people of Iraq will be better off in the long run. But people in Jordan, Pakistan, Morocco, Turkey, and Russia are inclined to predict that Iraqis will be worse off.

- Solid majorities in every country but the USA hold an unfavorable opinion of President Bush. In Morocco, Jordan, and Pakistan, his unfavorable ratings are higher than Osama bin Laden's.

- Majorities in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Turkey -- all U.S. allies in NATO -- and in Russia say Western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs.

Madeleine Albright, Secretary of State in the Clinton administration and chairperson of the project, says the deepening rift with Europe threatens security arrangements that have existed since World War II.

"Obviously the breach on Iraq remains wide," she said. "What I am worried about is that . . . the psychology of partnership that prevailed for decades between Europe and the United States has been replaced by a psychology of competition."[13] The broad mistrust of American leadership will be difficult to reverse.

Asked about the survey findings, White House press secretary Scott McClellan said President Bush "has often said he believes we have to work together in common purpose"[14] on issues including terrorism, AIDS, and world poverty. The growing divide with Europe indicates "we need to continue to reach out to people in those countries"[15] and in the Muslim world.

There are a few relatively bright spots in the survey. In Russia, support for the war on terrorism rose to 73% from 51% last year. In predominantly Muslim countries, support was up slightly but still low.

But 70% of those in Jordan, 66% in Morocco, and a 46% plurality in Pakistan say suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq were justified. Nearly one-third in Turkey agreed. This is certainly a surprising statistic for Turkey considering their historically strong support for the U.S. in the past and its current membership in NATO.

THE PENTAGON'S APPROACH

On February 26 2004, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, under heavy scrutiny from Congress, the American public, and the media ordered the disbanding of the newly created Office of Strategic Influence. The move ended a short-lived plan to provide news items, possible even false ones, to unwitting journalists to influence public sentiments abroad.[16] Certainly this

was an attempt by the Department of Defense to broaden its scope of influence around the world, however, it was to also serve as a mandate to integrate the Pentagon's information warfare program with other agencies within the federal government. The small but well financed office was created shortly after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S., and in response to growing concerns in the administration that America was losing public support overseas for its war on terrorism, particularly in the Islamic nations. Though Secretary Rumsfeld said the office did not yet have a charter, classified briefings circulating in the Pentagon said the office should find ways to "coerce" foreign journalists and opinion makers and "punish" those who conveyed the wrong message.[17] Startled by this seemingly sinister message sent to an already skeptical public, President Bush became highly alarmed and voiced his displeasure on the issue. Asked by reporters if he personally told Secretary Rumsfeld to close the office, Bush stated, "I didn't even need to tell him this. He knows how I feel about it".[18] Once again, this demonstrates the serious lack of information operations coordination at the highest levels of the government.

According to Sun Tzu, the apex of strategy is winning a fight without fighting. Experts have already highlighted cases where other nations are training and planning information operations against the United States.[19] Although information operations have long existed, it was only recently that joint doctrine began including such multidimensional operations in a systematic manner. In addition, the nation has yet to conduct joint information operations utilizing a full range of capabilities of public affairs, psychological operations, operations security, and deception. There is a legal dimension to information operations that is critical to their use. The United States has signed various bilateral and multilateral agreements that affect information operations. As Joint Pub 3-13, *Joint Information Operations*, states: legal issues require careful review and national level coordination.[20] Today there is a perception that the joint community does not exercise this vital segment of the process. In fact, many engagements in which joint information operations have been used were only instances of piecemeal implementation. Current U.S. laws prohibit computer network attack and perception management or limit their use. Thus, potent capabilities remain unexploited.[21] A comparison of the service doctrine with Joint Pub 3-13 reveals that each has considered information operations in terms of its own doctrine. FM 100-6, *Army Information Operations*, assumes a land operations perspective, seeking information dominance by tactical advantage on the digitized battlefield. Naval Doctrine Pub 6 views information operations in terms of command and control warfare for fleet operations. Even the Air Force, which adopts a more enlightened vision, has an air focus and uses doctrine to control the dimensions of air and space.

According to Randall C. Lane, a well known authority in information operations and frequent contributor to defense publications, "the Armed Forces view information operations in terms of the comfortable and the familiar, which is consistent with findings that service efforts fall short of an integrated joint approach."[22] Lane pointed out that each service develops their information operations doctrine with a concept known as "the politicization of strategy" narrowly viewing the process through the lens of their respective service cultures and interest. As an example, the Army does not include public affairs as part of their information operations strategy or doctrine; the Navy, Air Force, and Marines include it.

DOD'S INFORMATION OPERATIONS POLICIES TODAY

The latest version of Joint Pub 3-13 *, Joint Doctrine for Information Operations,* is dated March 1998. Struggling to fine-tune the doctrine, there have been several revisions in draft copies over the past several years. Published in October 1998 under the direction of then Chairman of the Joints Chiefs of Staff, General Shelton, it provides the Combatant Commanders and the Services with the basic principles and guidance to counter those adversaries that are becoming more sophisticated in their ability to attack, disrupt, or destroy both the military and civilian commercial information systems infrastructure. Under JP 3-13, information operations cover the full spectrum of operations from peace-time to major combat operations.[23] Partnering with DoD are many organizations and agencies whose common goals are to protect themselves from external attacks. This includes private industry   such as electrical power plants, water management facilities, banking and commerce, and transportation. Furthermore, because of the U.S. close ties to its allies, close partnership is maintained between defense and government agencies to protect against such attacks. To ensure compliance, Congress enacted the Clinger-Cohen Act of 1996. This act assigned to the various Federal Department's Chief Information Officers (CIO) the responsibility to "ensure that the information security policies, procedures, and practices of the executive agency are adequate." Section 2224 of Title 10 of the U.S. Code mandated that the DoD CIO presents to Congress an Information Assurance Annual Report.[24]

To highlight this growing threat, in May 2004, following a lengthy investigation, South Korean police and their U.S counterpart began a joint investigation as several computers of an army unit under the U.S Air Force Space Command (SPACECOM) were hacked by an individual in a third country via a Korean firms' computers in mid-February.[25]   The U.S. concluded that it was a serious case and hurriedly dispatched its investigators to Korea. The two countries began to establish a closely cooperative investigation system and have shared

information to identify the hacker. The third country is another Asian nation, but the police agency has not revealed the name of the country, giving consideration to international relations. The hacker hacked into the computers of the U.S Air Force Space Command via two Korean private firms located in Inchon and Daegu. The hacker used Korean computers by remote control in the third country to penetrate into the U.S computers. The hacking was possible because Korea's Internet network is the most highly developed in the world and has a close connection with the U.S., and Korean companies' computer networks are poorly managed due to firms' low security awareness.[26]

ATTACKING ONE'S CENTER OF GRAVITY

Using the informational element of national power may be the most effective of all the elements in attacking Anti-American propaganda throughout the world. For adversaries such as bin Laden, arguably radical Islamist ideology may be his center of gravity. [27] This requires a forward looking, comprehensive campaign on the part of the United States. As this is a classic battle for the hearts and minds of the Muslim world, at the heart of the issue is the battle for Islam and how each side perceives the organization of the world. It is critical to remember that it is not our perspective that is important, but that of the young Islamist and the undecided. For the Islamists, their world is Islamic law. For the Western world the survival of the state and the protection of individual rights are of primary importance. Truly these are American ideals and communicating these messages across cultural lines may prove most difficult. If we can convince the Islamists that they have more to gain by adopting these practices, by living in this world and accommodating modernity than they do by dying to get to the next world, then half the battle for hearts and minds could be won. In order to shape the future, the United States must do the following: First, it must initiate an information operations campaign. The campaign must provide an immediate counter to al-Qaida propaganda in the ongoing battle to influence people's perceptions. The Al-Jazeera satellite network already provides a superb venue to begin to expose the Muslim world to alternate viewpoints. Reports of previous interviews and debates with Americans have been widely acclaimed.[28] Part of the campaign needs to highlight the positions of the American government but other portions should include coordinated messages emanating from Saudi Arabia, Gulf Cooperative Council members and other Arab and Muslim nations that reinforce similar themes. The other part of the campaign must exploit al-Qaida's critical vulnerabilities. Its main vulnerability is its inability to define how the Islamist version of Islam can lead the Islamic world forward into the 21st century and reestablish itself as a great civilization.[29] If al-Qaida is unable to articulate this conceptual integration, and so far it

has not been able to do so, then the only realistic conclusion is that it intends to return the world to a medieval past. This regression has already been attempted in Iran in 1979. Within a generation of that country's Islamic revolution, the people of Iran want more than just fundamentalist religion. They want inclusion in a progressive world, one that will enhance their quality of life; otherwise, they will be left behind, intellectually, socially, economically, and developmentally. This current episode of fundamentalist terrorism has arisen despite the progress the world has made, but because of it. Another critical vulnerability that must be exploited is the status of women throughout much of the Muslim world. A society that is unable to reconcile the integration and involvement of half its population will not be able to successfully contribute or compete in the 21st century. Women, who as mothers are the life-givers, should be the antithesis of Islamist desire to die as martyrs.[30]

GETTING THE MESSAGE THROUGH CYBERSPACE

In the Spring 2003 issue of Parameters , Timothy L. Thomas wrote in his article regarding Al Qaida and the Internet: "We can say with some certainty, al-Qaida loves the Internet. When the latter first appeared, it was hailed as an integrator of cultures and a medium for businesses, consumers, and governments to communicate with one another. It appeared to offer unparalleled opportunities for the creation of a "global village."[31] Educators and cultural leaders around the world became excited of the great potential and opportunities this medium would open up the world for the less developed and least wealthy societies. Today, the Internet still offers that promise, but it also has proven in some respects to be a digital menace. Its use by al-Qaida is only one example. It also has provided a virtual battlefield for peacetime hostilities between Taiwan and China, Israel and Palestine, Pakistan and India, and China and the United States (during both the war over Kosovo and in the aftermath of the collision between the Navy EP-3 aircraft and Chinese MiG). In times of actual conflict, the Internet was used as a virtual battleground between NATO's coalition forces and elements of the Serbian population. These real tensions from a virtual interface involved not only nation-states but also non-state individuals and groups either aligned with one side or the other, or acting independently. [32]

As a widely accessible, inexpensive, sometime difficult to trace tool, evidence strongly suggests that terrorists used the Internet to plan their operations for 9/11. Computers seized in Afghanistan reportedly revealed that al-Qaida was collecting intelligence on targets and sending encrypted messages via the Internet. As recently as 16 September 2002, al-Qaida cells operating in America reportedly were using Internet-based phone services to communicate with cells overseas. These incidents indicate that the Internet is being used as a "cyberplanning" tool

for terrorists. It provides terrorists with anonymity, command and control resources, and a host of other measures to coordinate and integrate attack options.[33]

Mr. Thomas continued that cyberplanning may be a more important terrorist internet tool than the much touted and feared cyberterrorism option—attacks against information and systems resulting in violence against noncombatant targets. He explained in his article that the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) has defined cyberterrorism as the unlawful destruction or disruption of digital property to intimidate or coerce people. Cyberplanning, not defined by NPS or any other source, refers to the digital coordination of an integrated plan stretching across geographical boundaries that may or may not result in bloodshed. It can include cyberterrorism as part of the overall plan. Since the attacks on 9/11, U.S. sources have monitored several websites linked to al-Qaida that appear to contain elements of cyberplanning. Just to name a few, Mr. Thomas explained the purpose and significance of each and how damaging the impact could be if allowed to go unchallenged.[34]

- alneda.com, which U.S. officials said contained encrypted information to direct al-Qaida members to more secure sites, featured international news on al-Qaida, and published articles, fatwas (decisions on applying Muslim law), and books.
- assam.com, believed to be linked to al-Qaida (originally hosted by the Scranton company BurstNET Technologies, Inc.), served as a mouthpiece for jihad in Afghanistan, Chechnya, and Palestine.
- almuhrajiroun.com, an al-Qaida site which urged sympathizers to assassinate Pakistani President Musharraf.
- qassam.net, reportedly linked to Hamas.
- jihadunspun.net, which offered a 36-minute video of Osama bin Laden.
- aloswa.org, which featured quotes from bin Laden tapes, religious legal rulings that "justified" the terrorist attacks, and support for the al-Qaida cause.
- drasat.com, run by the Islamic Studies and Research Center (which some allege is a fake center), and reported to be the most credible of dozens of Islamist sites posting al-Qaida news.
- jehad.net, alsaha.com, and islammemo.com, alleged to have posted al-Qaida statements on their websites.
- mwhoob.net and aljehad.online, alleged to have flashed political-religious songs, with pictures of persecuted Muslims, to denounce US policy and Arab leaders, notably Saudi.

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While it is prudent to tally the Internet cyberplanning applications that support terrorists, it must be underscored that few if any of these measures are really anything new. Any hacker or legitimate web user can employ many of these same measures for their own purposes, for business, or even for advertising endeavors. The difference, of course, is that most of the people on the net, even if they have the capabilities, do not harbor the intent to do harm as does a terrorist or al-Qaida member.

THE ABU GHRAIB AND GUANTANAMO FACTOR

The United States suffered a tremendous blow in world image and opinion with the release of pictures and investigations surrounding treatment of Iraqi prisoners at the Abu Ghraib prison facility in Iraq. These were the words of many Americans, to include the President of the United States and Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld following media coverage in both print and video of American soldiers maltreatment of prisoners in Iraq. World reaction, particularly in the Middle East, focused on the United States claim that one of the reasons for the invasion of Iraq was to rescue the people from tyranny and the brutal dictatorship of Saddam. However, serious doubts resurfaced when every major newspaper throughout the world printed these troubling images of the great democracy of fairness and compassion showing otherwise.[35] Once again, the U.S. was on the offensive. While the young cleric, al-Sadr, and his militiamen battled U.S. troops in Karbala and Najaf, his rallying to them were those very photos of their countrymen suffering at the hands of the "great infidel occupiers". What ever gains the U.S. may be making in winning the hearts and minds of the Iraqi and Muslim people in the region, these pictures didn't help and caused both the Defense Secretary and Army leadership to issue the following statements to every soldier via the Army's Knowledge On-line web page.

> The reports of detainee abuse by American Soldiers in Iraq are deeply troubling. Those who have not upheld the high standards of our Armed Forces must be held accountable. With honor, the men and women of our Armed Forces must maintain our focus to secure a stable and free Iraq and to win the global war on terrorism. We ask that each of you remember who we are and what we represent. We are Americans, and our actions must uphold the values of our country and the highest standards of professionalism and ethics. Our military code of conduct requires it, our nation demands it, and the world expects it. Our culture of accountability and responsibility will accept nothing less. As you serve around the world, stand tall. Be proud of what you are doing to make the world a better place. Your nation is grateful for your unwavering professionalism, selfless service, courage, and sacrifice. The Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and I are enormously proud to serve with you.
>
> - Donald H. Rumsfeld

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> Never in recent memory have our Army Values, the Soldier's Creed, and our Warrior Ethos been more important for us to reflect upon than today. Our Army is serving our Nation with great courage and honor during very dangerous times. We enjoy great support and the confidence of the American People, whom we serve, and we are respected around the globe. In view of current events, we must re-double our efforts-hold our heads high-and drive on to accomplish our individual tasks and collective missions. Integrity is non-negotiable. Everyone has leadership responsibilities when it comes to the Legal, Moral, and Ethical. Discipline is doing what's right when no one is watching. We are proud of you and our Army. Drive on!

> - Peter J. Schoomaker
> General, U.S. Army
> Chief of Staff
> R. L. Brownlee
> Acting Secretary of the Army

Additionally, *Newsweek* magazine reported that within weeks following September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S., senior officials at the Pentagon and the White House began the drive to maximize American freedom of action. They attacked especially the Geneva Conventions, which govern the behavior during war, and that Secretary Rumsfeld explained that the convention did not apply to today's set of facts.[36] Needless to say, the impact of these set of circumstances flamed passions and aided the radical sectors throughout the region to once again strengthen their cause through a massive information campaign, and the U.S. is still trying to play catch-up.

RECOMMENDATION

The United States needs to reevaluate the effectiveness of its informational element of national power to help strengthen its image abroad. The Executive Branch, under the leadership of the National Security Advisor, needs to initiate an urgent, time sensitive study, to determine the most effective way to bring all government agencies to include the Department of Defense to speak to the same message and purpose. This does not mean that independent thoughts and ideas should be regulated with one governing massage, but simply to ensure that all available tools are legally and morally applied in ways that will demonstrate to the world the democratic ideals and peaceful intent of the United States . With the complex and changing technological breakthroughs in global communications, the success in winning the Global War

on Terrorism and securing the hearts and minds of potential adversaries can no longer run equal or behind our adversaries in establishing a firm place ahead in the infosphere. While comparisons of different government agencies' information programs is lacking, clearly, the DoD's approach could be used as a model for the rest of the government to start a dialog within their respective agencies.
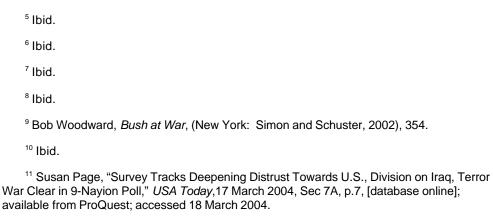
CONCLUSION

Information is power and power defeats enemies and keeps potential adversaries from gaining an advantage. Complex information infrastructures and great technological systems do not guarantee success if these instruments are not employed correctly and in a well coordinated fashion. The United States has the greatest military in the history of the world and the greatest democratic system of government, however, lately it has experienced one of the worst image perceptions in recent memory. The ugly American image is alive and well, and unless we change in the eyes of the world, combating terrorists on a global scale may take a very long time – time that we may default to less sophisticated, yet still very effective, terrorist groups and rogue nation states.

WORD COUNT= 5760

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ENDNOTES

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[2] Bob Woodward, *Bush at War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 90.

[3] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order,* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 209.

[4] The ideas for this sentence came from CG researcher, author unknown, "U.S. Creates News Agency; Unit to Coordinate Flow of Information Overseas," *The Washington Post*, 13 August 1999, p. C8, [database online]; available from ProQuest; accessed 15 March 2004.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

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[14] Ibid.

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[16] Eric Schmitt, "A Nation Challenged: Hearts and Minds;" "A Damaged Information Office is Declared Closed by Rumsfeld," *The New York Times*, 27 February 2002, p.A1. [database online]; available from ProQuest, accessed 15 February 2004.

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[21] Synthia S. Jones, Bernard Flowers and Karlton D. Johnson, "Unity of Effort in Joint Information Operations," *Joint Force Quarterly* (Winter 2002-03): 78.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Department of Defense, *Chief Information Officer Annual Information Assurance Report*, p. 18.

[25] *Digital Chosan*, Third Country Hacker Uses Korean Computers to Hack U.S. Air Force Space Command (Seoul, Korea); Investigation was initiated February 2004 and findings published 25 May 2004.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Thomas Friedman, "An Islamic Reformation," *The New York Times*, 4 December 2002, A10.

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[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Timothy L. Thomas, "Al Qaeda and the Internet: The Danger of 'Cyberplanning'", *Parameters* 19 (Spring 2003): 113.

[32] Ibid., 113.

[33] Ibid., 115.

[34] Ibid., 119.

[35] Fareed Zakaria, "The Price of Arrogance," *Newsweek*, 17 May 2004, 39.

[36] Ibid.

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